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JINGLE LORE OF PIGTAILS, PALS, AND PUPPY LOVE*

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When you are married and get into trouble
Spank your kids with a red hot shovel.¹

This epigrammatic advice may smack somewhat of the sadistic to ears that are not accustomed to hearing about such disciplinary procedures. Although I doubt whether many children are now blistered in this old time orthodox fashion, nevertheless, such advice has been given within the last generation. The rhyme, however, was in all probability composed by an adolescent girl and written in an autograph book belonging to another girl, for girls, I have been told, are avid collectors of friendship verses, along with signatures. Special books, which can be bought in any variety store, are carried around for just that purpose. Varieties of these books are known as friendship books, slam books, him books, and even personality books.

The material that forms the basis of this paper comes in large part from a compilation of verses that I typed in Perry County, Tennessee, on July 25, 1940, from several autograph books as well as from the conclusions of some old love letters. Some of the verses are strange indeed. Would a country lad who really loves his rural maiden wax poetic enough to assault her ears with the elegant rhyme:

Roads are long and full of ditches,
Hope some day you'll patch my britches.

At least he must have been rather sure of his power before he signed his name, or perhaps he was merely anticipating future connubial bliss. I have not followed up my 1940 investigation in order to learn whether or not the marriage prospered. But when I found the typed collection again in the summer of 1954, I looked at it with new interest. There were ninety-two items. During the summer of 1955, in the same area, I found some twenty more, dating back to at least 1907, which were not duplicated in the other collection.

*This paper was read at the Annual Meeting of the Tennessee Folklore Society at Nashville, Tennessee, November 5, 1955.

1. Wherever possible, I have retained the punctuation and spelling of the originals.

Recently, more material has accumulated than I have been able to assimilate into this paper. One collection especially I must acknowledge here. Miss Dorothy Forney of the Youngstown University Library, Youngstown, Ohio, allowed me the use of a handsomely bound volume of rhymes that was compiled between 1883 and 1890. She also allowed me the use of her own collection made between 1941 and 1945; her discussion as to the way her own collection was compiled has aided me in some of the interpretations below. Professor William J. Griffin generously pointed out some recent articles on the same subject and also suggested valuable background material. I blush to admit that I had not read the article by Mrs. Flora McDowell² until Professor Griffin suggested it. I must say, however, that on the whole there has been very little investigation of this jingle lore. The most rewarding article I have found is one by M. L. Story in the Southern Folklore Quarterly.³ There are no doubt others, especially in state folklore bulletins, that I have not yet discovered.

Assuming that most of the readers of the Bulletin are familiar with the type of rhymes discussed in this paper, I shall move immediately to some tentative arguments concerning their origin. As Story suggests, the custom of writing, or even composing, these rhymes is too persistent to be dismissed as a mere passing fad. The very universality of the custom, notably among young people, adolescents if we must call them that, seems to prove that each generation falls prey to collecting the same rhymes with little variation in content. Mrs. McDowell has published some verses that were collected just prior to and during the Civil War. But even without the actual albums before us, we can safely push the custom back much earlier. For example, there is evidence that Keats wrote many verses in the "commonplace books" of his feminine friends. Lamb's poems were collected into a volume titled Album Verses (1830). The cryptogram is often found among the poems of the Cavalier poets, and may show up in the Elizabethan lyrics. The most famous "hidden" signature in English is probably the Cynewulf rune.

Furthermore, with some reservations, I will suggest that a great many of these rhymes and perhaps the custom of album collecting itself originated among the upper classes before the tradition became common folk property. First, there is the practice of making compilations of aphorisms, proverbs, apophthegms, epigrams, and other often undiluted didactic material that can be found all the way from the Greek Anthology, Erasmus, and Sir Thomas More to classroom exercises for school children from the sixteenth century to the present. Second, manuscripts of poems, many probably of little literary value but serving only as examples of an irresponsible, rakish courtier's wit, were passed around the court--certainly a type of album compilation. Third, the lower classes tend to emulate the customs and traditions of the aristocrats; thus, often the custom or tradition tends to become folk property, as the ballads and nursery rhymes have become to a great extent, if not completely.

2. Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin, XVIII (March, 1942), pp. 22-24.

3. XVII (1953), 207-212.

Upon reaching the nineteenth century, however, are we on firm ground, one reason being that we have albums compiled during that period. Women were becoming emancipated in the wake of new ideas concerning the rights of individuals, and what is more they were certainly learning to write, whether they were daughters of spinners or of kings. Also, in the early part of the nineteenth century, it was still socially permissible for men to indulge in collecting rhymes into albums, as Lamb's volume, Album Verses, indicates. In addition, we can safely assume that the albums were compiled by people who were somewhat older and more mature than those who collect them now. Apparently such activity was an expression of the nineteenth-century mind-and-heart set, a mixture of romantic individualism and sentimentality. But with the man becoming more and more involved in the industrial revolution and, therefore, the practical affairs of "the world of men," such trivial and sentimental matters as collecting verses dripping with brine were relegated to the distaff side. Having many leisure hours in which to reflect on themes of mutability, transitoriness of life, removal of friends, and propriety, the women among the middle classes compiled many lugubrious verses in their "friendship albums." The literary counterpart to this uninhibited lachrymation can be found in sixty-seven volumes from the dewy pen of Lydia Huntley Sigourney, "The Sweet Singer of Hartford."

A brief survey of the album verses written in mid-nineteenth century as collected by Mrs. McDowell, in the 1880's in Ohio and Pennsylvania, the 1900's in Tennessee, and in the 1930's and 1940's in Ohio and Tennessee, will prove that this tradition is still alive. Here are typical examples that I have found in the collections:

Farewell, and if by distance parted,
We see each other's face no more
Oh, may we with the faithful hearted
Meet beyond this parting shore.

(Mrs. McDowell's collection)

Dear friend should your burden of sorrow grow heavy
Should your sunshine of life be with clouds overcast
Despair not I pray you. Nor count up your losses
Trust God for the future trust him to the last.

(Golden Floral Album, Ohio,
Jan. 15, 1883, written by a man.)

Our lives are albums written through
With good or ill. With false or true
And as the blessed angels turn
The pages of our years
God grant they read the good with smiles
And blot the bad with tears.

(Golden Floral Album, Ohio,
Jan. 15, 1883, written by a woman.)

When the golden sun is sinking
 And your mind from care is free.
 And of others you are thinking
 Won't you some times think of me.

(Perry County, Tennessee,
 Feb. 12, 1907.)

Remember me love, Remember me true,
 Remember me and I will you,
 When my grave shall be my bed
 Remember me when I am dead.

(Perry County, Tennessee, 1940.)

May every day be bright & fair
 And as the years go past--
 Each golden hour be glad with joy,
 And gayer than the last.

(Ohio, May 28, 1943, written by
 a teacher.)

However, in all the albums collected after 1900, there is an increasingly fresh breeze of wit until in the 1940's the only examples of the "serious" rhymes are those written by teachers, pastors, and other adults, another indication that the reflective verses of the nineteenth century were written by people of some maturity. This tradition can be called "literary."

The tradition of witty rhymes

(When I am dead and almost rottin,
 Think of me an come a trottin)

so prevalent in collections since 1900 may have received its impetus from the general breakdown of Victorian and nineteenth-century traditions. In the Golden Floral Album collected in Ohio is found this rhyme, written by a young man, dated "January 9th 1883":

May this album of yours
 From beginning to end
 Contain the hand writing of many a friend
 May it prove to you in your moments of Leisure
 A source of amusement and Pleasure.

The sentiment expressed seems to reflect the general attitude toward the albums, but there is also a sly hint at humor, in addition to "instruction." Amid some prayerful gems, sure enough, appears a waggish scrawl signed by a man and dated April 17, 1883:

Remember me when far away
 And only half awake
 Remember me on your wedding day
 And send me a slice of cake.

This one occurs in almost all modern collections I have seen. A few pages further on occurs an apology for this "Foolishness of a Silly Friend," written, by the way, in beautiful penmanship and decorated by pen and ink sketches:

A long life, and a happy one,
 A small man, and a jolly one
 Like--well--you know who!
 Santa Claus.

But apologies and squeamishness are completely effaced in a Tennessee album that was filled in the years 1907 and 1908. The man who wrote this was over twenty years old:

Beas makes honey and puts In the Coam
 I wish me and you was married and In our Little Home.

Two others:

Older the tree
 thicker the bark
 Older the boys
 harder the spark.

(Oct. 3, 1907.)

Lime stone water and cedar wood
 A kiss from you Would do me good.

(April, 1908.)

Later collections are filled with such whimsical, solidly rhymed verses.

This sudden outburst of folk wit following the Victorial breakdown seems to have been largely the result of a complete social realignment of young people. The nineteenth-century young lady and young gentleman were older in years and in maturity than the present-day verse-collecting youngsters. They seem to have taken life much more seriously, and to have been aware of responsibilities at an earlier age. They also had stronger, more permanent friendship ties, largely because of limitations of travel and restrictions by family pressure. In other words, they did not have to be in so many places all at once. Access to the opposite sex was not quite so easy as it is now; consequently, a touching rhyme written by the boy had to serve as a stimulus for many dreams:

Remember the concert on the hill
 Remember the fiddler who stood so still
 To hear the music in the air
 May you always be as free from care
 As the happy group that sang that night
 On the hillside in the soft moonlight,

(Jan. 5, 1883, Ohio, written by a man.)

just seems to go with the slower-paced horse and buggy days. But,

Faster the car, cooler the breeze
 Younger the couple the tighter they squeeze

belongs to a more aggressive, if no less delinquent, generation.

Nevertheless, girls, and boys too for that matter, in high school, especially in the eleventh and twelfth grades, have more opportunities to mingle with the opposite sex and less need to rely on autograph books as excuses for introductions. Then, too, marriage is still in the hazy, delirious future, some time during or after college. The autograph album tradition, accordingly, seemed to settle down, perhaps permanently, in the pigtailed, giggling, early teenage group in the school grades from five to ten inclusive. Here, to be sure, it drew heavily upon the nursery rhyme tradition, which found itself upgraded to become a part of the autograph tradition, particularly evidenced in the emphasis upon heavy rhymes and flippancy of subject matter. The undertones of puberty can be noted especially in this, the first line of which is the beginning of a nursery rhyme that can be tracked back to 1651:⁴

Roses are red, violets are blue,
 Candy is sweet, and so are you.

(Tennessee, 1940.)

A sweet-toothed afterthought surely, but this one shows increasing perception:

I love peaches, I love pie,
 I love a little girl about so high.

At least the writer is becoming conscious of size. It is in this pre-adolescent age that the erratic, shy, self-conscious, humorous characteristics appear. I suppose it could be called the time of coalescence of personality and of a budding awareness of surroundings. As Mr. Story points out, it is a period of collection: boys collect marbles, tadpoles, snakes, and butterflies; girls collect pictures of movie stars and autograph rhymes.

4. See Iona and Peter Opie, The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes (Oxford, 1952), 374-75.

Now that lines of development have been suggested, it is necessary to attempt to erect a periphery for present-day album rhymes. How are they to be defined, and how can they be distinguished from other types, such as restroom epigraphy, "sidewalk" rhymes, limericks, signature verses, et cetera? At the risk of being trite, I will limit the album rhyme to any set of verses written in an autograph or friendship booklet. The album rhyme may show affinities with other forms, but, nevertheless, it takes on characteristics of its own, regardless of its origin. Since a girl's popularity is measured by the number of cramped, careful lines smudged into the book by awkward, all-thumbed boys, as well as by girls who profess undying friendship in myriad patterns, it is obvious that the material must be suitable for the eyes and ears of mixed company, for the girl will certainly wish to exhibit her standing among her friends by allowing everyone to read the verses that she has collected. Consequently, bawdy rhymes seldom appear, although if a girl is somewhat vivacious and animated the scribbling friends will express as much as they think the traffic will bear:

Apples on the table, peaches on the shelf.
I am getting tired of sleeping by myself.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

I wish you luck, I love you mighty
I wish you were by me nightly.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

How do you like my feather
How do you like my sheets
How would you like for a pretty girl
to roll in your arms and sleep.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

Mary had a little lamb;
She also had a bear.
I've often seen her little lamb,
But I've never seen her bear. (bare.)
(Anne O'Hara, "Traditional Verses from
Autograph Albums," North Carolina Folk-
lore, II (1954), 30.)

I wish I were a little fish
I wish I were a bass,
I'd climb upon the limbs of trees
And slide down on my ---
hands and knees.
(Ohio, May 27, 1943, written by a girl.)

These are just about all the risqué verses I could find out of several hundred rhymes. Apparently, when youngsters take pen or pencil in hand to write in albums they turn into little prudes. However, they seem to feel no such compunction or restraint when they see a clean blank wall, a smooth white beech tree, a park bench, or just any school desk. The difference seems to be that one situation is personal and the other impersonal.

The "sidewalk" rhymes, on the other hand, often find their way into the albums, or perhaps it would be safer to say that album lines and patterns are the origin of "sidewalk" rhymes. Many of the ones listed in B. A. Botkin's Sidewalks of America (New York, 1954), pp. 796 ff., can be found scattered throughout the albums. The "sidewalk" rhymes seem to exhibit "smart aleck" qualities, impersonal, sarcastic, irreverent disregard of conventions, calculated to shock or be embarrassing to the person who sees or hears them. In the albums, and always in the slam books, this would be indicative of friendly wit, even of very close friendship, for only an intimate friend would be allowed such personal liberties. The limerick, needless to say, is a poetic form in itself that seems to be related to the album verses merely by accident and not by intent. Signature verses, formerly written at the close of a letter just before the signature, appear to have dropped from use. They remonstrated with the addressee in a sort of veiled threat, a not too subtle request that an answer be made:

Apples are good, peaches are better,
If you love me you will answer this letter.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

Remember me at day, Remember me at night,
Remember me little darling and don't forget to write.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

This tradition survives in the albums in the comic form of

Yours till the Board walks.
(Ohio, May 28, 1943.)

Yours till the kitchen sinks.
(Ohio, 1943.)

Yours till this page turns blak.
(Ohio, May 28, 1943.)

These are patterned on the old line, "Yours till the cows come home," also appearing in Ohio, May 26, 1943.

Contrary to some theories, children generally have little aptitude for linguistic creativity, and their play terms are borrowed from the activities of adults. One is not surprised, then, to find that originality is lacking among the modern album rhymes. In

the collections I have seen there is variation only within a pattern or scheme. If new material is inserted into the tradition it usually comes from an adaptation of a well known folk song:

The higher up the cherry tree,
The sweeter are the cherries.
Every pretty girl I meet
I always want to marry.
(Cf. "Old Joe Clark.")

a comic strip:

When you are married and feeding pigs,
Don't treat me like Maggie does Jiggs.
(North Carolina; Tennessee, 1940.)

maybe a valentine:

They say our hearts are very small,
I'm sure that can't be true
because I know my heart
always has room enough for you.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

or simply rural doggerel:

Catch a worm and watch it wiggle
Kiss a girl and watch her giggle.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

When we are married and living on the farm,
We will raise potatoes as big as our arms.
(Tennessee, 1940.)

In these ubiquitous patterns, set formulas displaying utter lack of direction reflect artless, warmed-over instruction from elders, friendly taunts, and puppy-love crushes. It is a delightful, sunny moment when a shy "Please write in my book" means social acceptability, and when boys and girls contemplate each other with rising curiosity, knowing that they are alike, but somehow different and busy about growing into opposites. The album verses catch and mirror this desultory, light-headed, enchanting age. Easily improvised, glibly and wittily enunciated, slowly written, the verses seem to have momentary value only, serving sometimes as a humble "poetic" offering of love or friendship, or merely as a sudden inspiration that will make an autograph memorable.

THE SOLUTION BY SCAPEGOAT

A Study in the Myth of Hatred

By

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In situations of acute crisis individuals and groups often feel themselves confronted with menacing forces which seem beyond their abilities to comprehend and conquer. They despair of the possibility of resolving the emergency with their customary methods of thought and action and succumb to the prevailing feelings of anxiety, frustration and hostility. Instead of attempting to interpret rationally the imminent danger, to adapt themselves to unsettled conditions and to surmount the obstacles with the resources at their command, individuals and groups react with a withdrawal from rational and empirical behaviour to the primitive and archaic mode of thought which is usually termed emotional, mythical, mythopoeic or magical. This type of conduct is by no means limited to bygone ages or to primitive civilizations but is also characteristic of the present century and of our own culture. This regression from the daylight of reason into the twilight of the emotional underground serves a definite purpose: It provides the individuals and groups with a possibility of overcoming the perilous difficulties.¹

In a crisis-laden atmosphere, fraught with apprehensions of danger, permeated with a sense of ominous uncertainty, charged with oppressive tensions, the masses develop vague predispositions toward fears, frustrations and hatreds which produce a condition of high psychological susceptibility. At such a juncture certain ideologists of fear and hatred recognize the emotional needs of large segments of the society and the potentialities for power in the explosive accumulation of collective sentiments. They identify by a suggestion, or a series of suggestions, the scapegoat who is responsible for the current evil. A well-planted, well-timed and well-aimed suggestion often has the impact of a "revelation" and is able to transform the emotional structure of the masses in an amazingly short period of time. It activates the mythopoeic imagination which in turn unifies, reorganizes and reorients the isolated emotional experiences of the group toward new aims. Imagination precipitates irrational and free-floating collective anxieties, frustrations and hostilities, crystallizes them into definite fears and hatreds which are gradually attached to the prospective scapegoat.

1. This article will deal with collective emotions and reactions only because these alone have a bearing on the subject under discussion. There is no comprehensive treatment of the role of the mythopoeic imagination in our modern civilization. The best studies of the mythopoeic mode of thought are Ernst Cassirer, Philosophie der symbolischen Formen (Berlin 1923-29) and Rene Lacroze, La fonction de l'imagination (Paris 1936). Many useful treatments of various aspects of mythopoeic behaviour can be found in the works of

A more complete understanding of the genesis and nature of the scapegoat can be gleaned from consideration of his diverse functions. The initial purpose of the scapegoat is aetiological, i.e. through the scapegoat the mythopoeic imagination expresses and explains in concrete forms the cause and the nature of the crisis. The scapegoat suggests vague and undiscovered meanings which offer a basis for rational exploration. He also presents a new frame of reference, a fresh set of motivations, a novel system of symbols and imposes a significant and relevant pattern on the chaotic conditions. Another function of the scapegoat is of an emotional character, i.e. the scapegoat provides for relief from an emotionally onerous atmosphere by discharging pent-up collective fears, hatreds and frustrations. Moreover, man is primarily an acting creature and in the periods of stress he has the urge to resolve the emergency by action. The scapegoat satisfies this craving by supplying the target for aggression.²

It is therefore understandable that the mythopoeic mind exhibits a marked aversion toward any scientific explanation of the causes and nature of the crisis which employs abstract, impersonal and multiple reasons. Instead, the mythopoeic mentality attributes everything painful and distasteful to the ill-will and hostile action of some human agency. Thus, when the scientific mind inquires into the causes and effects of phenomena, it poses the question "how," while the mythopoeic mind is obsessed with the desire to discover "who." For example, when the members of a primitive community are overwhelmed by an incomprehensible and uncontrollable epidemic, they are prone to scorn the explanations and remedies of medical science as inefficacious. Instead they have recourse to a witch-doctor who, with the aid of magic, identifies the culprit who bewitched the community. The act of placing the blame, apprehending and punishing "the guilty one" not only offers a satisfactory account of the epidemic but provokes an outburst of repressed collective sentiments and affords an emotional catharsis through actual or symbolic acts of violence. Similarly, when orthodox Nazis or Communists, who represent excellent examples of modern mythopoeic mentality in the political sphere,³ delve into the origins of the last World War, they contemptuously reject any scientific analysis. The thesis that the last War was the result of the interaction of various economic, political, social and psychological forces appears to them absurdly abstruse, meaninglessly academic and totally unacceptable. Instead, they are convinced that the last War was the monstrous spawn of a Jewish or Capitalist conspiracy aimed at the enslavement and domination of the world.

anthropologists, ethno-psychologists, social psychologists and psychiatrists. However, these should be employed with great care wherever they are applied to modern culture. For instance, W. Wundt, L. Levy-Bruhl and C. G. Jung had a most unfortunate influence on many specialists in folklore, particularly in Germany.

2. The connection between frustration and aggression has been demonstrated by John Dollard and others, Frustration and Aggression (New Haven, 1939).

3. I have discussed the significant shift of mythopoeic thought from the spheres of nature and religion into the social realm and the rise of the new type of political folklore in my article, "Is Our Civilization Creating a New Folklore?" Southern Folklore Quarterly, Vol. XVI, No. 2 (June, 1952), pp. 79-81.

In order to understand the myth of the scapegoat, it is necessary to discuss briefly the lengthy and complex process of the identification and incubation of the scapegoat and also the psychological and sociological factors which determine it. The universal scapegoat is arrived at through selection and syncretism from a number of prospective scapegoats on the one hand, and the expansion of the frame of reference of the designated universal scapegoat on the other hand. This means that the scapegoat must possess a high degree of polysemy, i. e. he must be able to express a number of meanings which assume significance for various factions according to the particular social configuration. For instance, he must be equally well suited for religious charges raised by religiously minded groups as for political accusations made by politically oriented factions at the same time; or, he must constitute the incarnation of economic and moral evils simultaneously. A classical example of the identification of the scapegoat through syncretism and expansion can be found in Germany between the two World Wars. The process was initiated with the birth of the notorious "stab-in-the-back legend" which placed the blame for the lost War and for the ensuing plight in Germany on the treachery of the so-called "November criminals."⁴ This legend branded both individuals, such as Rathenau, Lichnowski, Ballin, R. Luxemburg, and groups, such as Liberals, Socialists, Communists, Jews, Freemasons. The next phase in the search for the scapegoat was characterized by the emergence of the myth which contended that Germany became the innocent victim of the sinister conspiracy of the so-called supra-national powers in their struggle for world domination. The author of this myth, General E. von Ludendorff,⁵ fixed the responsibility on such corporate scapegoats as World Jewry, the Communist International, the Roman Catholic Church and International Capitalism. The Nazis completed the process by discovering the universal scapegoat in the International Jew who in their myth successfully incorporated and assimilated all previous scapegoats.

There are several important psychological and sociological factors which determine the selection of the scapegoat.⁶ First, the prospective scapegoat must be a member of the society, yet not belong to the in-group. In the eyes of the majority he must constitute an outsider, stranger or foreigner. This explains why in the Middle Ages such fear-inspiring and abhorred peoples as Huns, Tartars, Mongols, Saracens and Turks never became the scapegoats of the Christian Occident. They were not members of the Christian society, they were not sufficiently close and familiar to the average Christian to bear the blame for individual and collective misfortunes of the Western community in the sense that heretics and witches were.⁷ Consequently, they were rather associated with the

4. Alfred Rosenberg, Dolchstoss-Dokumente; Zeugnisse der Vorbereitung zur Revolte vom. 9. November 1918 (Munich, 1926).

5. Erich von Ludendorff, Die Ueberstaatlichen Mächte im letzten Jahre des Weltkrieges (Leipzig, n. d.); also by the same author, Kriegshetze und Völkermorden in den letzten 150 Jahren (Munich, 1935).

6. Cf. Gordon W. Allport, ABC's of Scapegoating (Chicago, 1944).

7. A good example of a study of the defamatory folklore fabricated around the "evil peoples" is Richard Ebermann, Die Türkenfurcht. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der öffentlichen Meinung in Deutschland während der Reformationszeit, Diss. (Halle, 1904).

apocalyptic peoples of Gog and Magog who were regarded as heralds of the impending End of the World and the Day of the Last Judgment.⁸ On the other hand, the Jews who were a part of the society and yet lived in segregation in their ghettos, with their distinct religion, language, dress and occupation, aroused through their alien mode of life deep suspicions, fears and hatreds in the Christian masses and became repeatedly the scapegoat of Western civilization.

Second, the higher the degree of visibility that the prospective scapegoat possesses, the better target of scapegoating he presents. By this I mean that the most suitable for scapegoating are the members of some racial, national or religious minority which is marked by certain physical or cultural variations from the norm. For instance, anti-semitism has flourished particularly among the peoples where the Jews have had a high degree of physical visibility due to the different physical type of the majority of the population. Consequently, anti-semitism has been less pronounced in Latin countries than in Germanic or Slavic ones.

Third, the prospective scapegoat must be of sufficient social prominence to embody a potential threat to the society, yet not strong enough to be able to retaliate against his persecutors. For this reason migratory groups, such as gypsies, wandering students, vagabond comedians and itinerant apprentices were often associated with witchcraft and became victims of defamation and persecution, but they never constituted the scapegoat because they were socially too insignificant to be accused of the main charge, the conspiracy against the existing order.

Fourth, many scapegoats have been revitalized and renovated former scapegoats on whom new folklore of defamation has been grafted. Thus, many of the old religious scapegoats have suddenly re-emerged in political garb, as for example the Jews,¹⁰ Freemasons,¹¹ Catholics and Jesuits.¹²

8. Cf. Andrew R. Anderson, Alexander's Gate, Gog and Magog, and the Inclosed Nations (Cambridge, Mass., 1932).

9. Cf. Theodor Hampe, Die fahrenden Leute in der deutschen Vergangenheit, 2nd ed. (Jena, 1924).

10. For the survey of the folklore of anti-semitism cf. The Jewish Encyclopedia I, 641 ff.; Encyclopedia Judaica II, 596 ff.; Handwoerterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens IV, 808 ff.

11. The best study of the anti-Masonic folklore is Karl Olbrich, Die Freimaurer im deutschen Volksglauben; die im Volke umlaufenden Vorstellungen und Erzählungen von den Freimaurern (Breslau, 1930) - Wort und Brauch Heft 20; also Handwoerterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens III, 23 ff.

12. For anti-Jesuit folklore cf. Bernhard Duhr, Jesuiten-Fabeln, ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte, 4th ed. (Freiburg, 1904). The best collection of anti-Jesuit material is Paul von Hoensbroech, Der Jesuitenorden, eine Enzyklopaedie (Bern, Leipzig, 1926-27).

The most important component in the concept of the scapegoat is the belief in his guilt and, therefore, the kernel of the process of scapegoating consists in the fabrication of numerous rumors, tales, legends and myths of defamation around him. During a mass regression into the mythopoeic mode of thought reasoning ceases to be objective, abstract and logical. Instead, it becomes personal, concrete and wishful to such an extent that the boundaries between reality and fiction, the empirical and the miraculous, wish and fulfillment vanish. The mythopoeic imagination conjures a world of phantasy animated with mythical beings who move in fictitious space and time and acquire a mystical character and life of their own. They become assimilated in the real world and eventually are accepted as reality. Thus it is evident that the scapegoat is essentially imagination-born, superstition-sustained and belongs as such to the realm of folklore.

The mythopoeic world is determined by four dimensions, those of fear, hatred, secrecy and symbolism. Secrecy serves the function of an empty form, an emotional container and, simultaneously, a transformer of sentiments which steadily absorbs, transforms and releases emotional contents.¹³ In the case of the scapegoat, secrecy acts as a prism which reflects vague and highly volatile tendencies toward anxieties, frustrations and hostilities and produces a compact spectrum of specific fears and hatreds which are directed against the scapegoat. They eventually become substantiated in numerous rumors, tales, legends and myths of defamation.

In crucial situations perceptions, recollections and anticipations of the masses grow attuned to the emotional atmosphere to such an extent that the crowd, so to speak, watches, listens and smells with great apprehension for something different from the average. Everything uncommon and unfamiliar immediately attracts attention, assumes significance, arouses suspicion and is surrounded with a dark halo of secrecy and mystery. The psychology of the mythopoeic man is in this case based on the reversal of the relationship between secrecy and evil. Because evil usually avails itself of secrecy, everything secret is *eo ipso* associated with evil. Hence the folklore of defamation around the scapegoat can be regarded as a development of the evil potentialities of secrecy attached to the physical and cultural characteristics which differentiate the scapegoat from the norm. Here the mythopoeic mind postulates unity between body and soul. The people who look different must, therefore, be different (evil).

Consequently, the mythopoeic imagination seizes avidly on such physical peculiarities of the prospective scapegoat as distinct physical type reflected in the shape of the skull, forehead, eyes, ears, nose, different colour of the skin, hair, eyes, excessive hairiness or bodily odor and converts them into stigmata. Similarly the imagination focusses on such cultural traits which vary from the average as dissimilarities in language, dialect, religion, occupation, eating and dress habits, marriage and family customs,

13. On the sociological implications of secrecy cf. Kurt H. Wolff (ed.), The Sociology of Georg Simmel (Glencoe, Ill., 1950), pp. 330 ff.

economic and political attitudes. Through the device of secrecy all of these "deviations" are finally transformed into the stereotyped charges of satanic godlessness, blasphemous cults, obscene rites, repulsive immorality, sexual orgies, fiendish cruelty, cunning treachery, ritual murder and other atrocities, physical inferiority, spiritual sterility, cultural barbarism, economic parasitism, et cetera. The chief accusation which has been leveled against every major scapegoat throughout history is that of conspiracy against the existing order with the goal of usurping power.

The last charge is understandable if we realize that the above-mentioned dimension of secrecy offers the possibility of the second world alongside the manifest world. The picture of life and history which the mythopoeic mind perceives has been curiously stereotyped through the ages. It became the dominant *Weltanschauung* during all great emergencies of Western culture; heresy-mania in the 13th and 14th centuries, witch-craze in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, Freemason-delusion in the 18th century, Nazi and Communist pseudo-religions in our own era. The mythopoeic man who subscribes to the solution of crisis by scapegoat experiences all phenomena around him as divided into two categories, friendly and hostile.¹⁴ The hostile forces are equated with those of evil and are allegedly engaged in continuous conspiracy and subversion with the final aim of overthrowing the standing order and of usurping control. Thus, for the mythopoeic man of all ages history has been one monstrous plot, one gigantic struggle between the camps of good and evil. In our Western civilization this dualistic and apocalyptic character of history has been successively symbolized by the alleged conflicts between Christ and the Devil in the mythopoeic Christianity, between the Aryan super-race and the Jew-led sub-races in Nazi mythology and between the World Proletariat and the International Capitalism in the Communist pseudo-religion. To the mythopoeic mind history presents itself as a book of revelation written in a secret, profoundly symbolic script in which the personalities and events must not be judged at their face values. Appearances are merely a mask, camouflage and mimicry of a reality which remains secret and concealed deep under the deceptive surface of conventional history. Hence the amazing predilection of Nazis and Communists for "history" which receives from the pens of their mystagogues the same treatment as the Holy Script, and particularly the Revelation of Saint John, used to receive from the prophesy-inclined mystics. We should, therefore, not be surprised to learn concerning the High Priest of Nazism that

During the war, while Goebbels was demanding total mobilization, Himmler was employing thousands of men and millions of marks in the projects of a religious maniac. In one department of his foreign intelligence service, a school of eager researchers studied such important matters as Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry, the symbolism of the suppression of the harp in Ulster,¹⁵ and the occult significance of Gothic pinnacles and top-hats at Eaton.

14. It is not accidental that the chief exponent of the Nazi political science, Carl Schmitt, classifies all political phenomena according to these two categories. Cf. Carl Schmitt, *Der Begriff des Politischen*, 3rd ed. (Hamburg, 1933).

15. H. R. Trevor-Roper, *The Last Days of Hitler* (New York, 1947), pp. 20 f.

Likewise, we should not be amazed to discover that the mythopoeic imagination has always endowed the scapegoat with an astounding capability of metamorphosis, camouflage and mimicry. Thus, for a Nazi, the world and history are replete with crypto-Jews (Tarnjuden) who have conspired under the most incongruous disguises, as for instance, those of a Communist, Capitalist, Socialist, Liberal, Conservative, Freemason, Rosicrucian, Catholic, Jesuit, member of the Oxford Movement, et cetera. The same gift for metamorphosis has been ascribed both to the Devil and to the arch-scapegoat of Communism, the Capitalist. In this connection it is interesting to note that for the mythopoeic mind metamorphosis is the substitute for development or change through time; likewise, that the laws of contradiction and identity, as they are employed in rational logic, do not apply to the mythopoeic mode of thought.

As I have mentioned above, one of ^{the} important dimensions of the mythopoeic world is that of symbolism. The mythopoeic mind saturates all phenomena with a symbolic meaning which is indicative of a profound and ominous reality. Therefore every successful scapegoat must be converted into the symbol of evil. The reasons for this are several. First, symbols represent what may be called an emotional shorthand. They are effective in compressing, conveying and releasing emotions better than any other device of communication. Second, symbols provide a short circuit of thought. They signify the finality of conclusion and thus circumvent the tedious search for the relationship between cause and effect. Consequently, they constitute an integral part of associative thinking. Third, symbols select from the complex under consideration one simple, representative and significant feature or aspect which stands for the whole. Such a selection affects not only a desired simplification but also an emotional economy because, for instance, the hatred and defamation of one feature of a man or of one individual from a group permits the transference of such an emotion or attitude to the entire individual or group.

Similarly, the evil attributes, activities and intentions of the scapegoat externalized in the folklore of defamation around him are expressed in a highly symbolic manner. The iniquity of the scapegoat is exemplified by his attitude towards a certain set of stock symbols. For instance, his godless and devilish character is illustrated by his abominable treatment of religious symbols dear to all pious Christians. All through the ages Jews have been accused of defaming the Cross and the Holy Pictures or mutilating the Holy Wafer.¹⁶ Heretics and witches were supposed to misuse the Holy Wafer for the purposes of witchcraft. Freemasons were believed to trample the Cross during their blasphemous ritual. Modern propaganda never fails to bring forth horrible pictures of the bestial scapegoat desecrating and destroying religious symbols, e.g. raping nuns, killing pastors, converting the Crosses into booby traps, blowing up churches, transforming chapels into stables, using chalices for debauchery, pillaging graves, et cetera.

16. Handwoerterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens IV, 412 ff.

A short survey of the history of scapegoating in our Western civilization will clarify and exemplify the above mentioned discussion. In Christian society the organized persecution of the scapegoat emerged conspicuously late, not until the close of the Crusades. This does not imply that an abundant folklore of defamation and scapegoating did not flourish earlier. The medieval folklore of fear and hatred produced numerous personifications and symbols of evil, both individual and collective, such as the Devil, Antichrist, the Wandering Jew, Judas, Pilate, Nero, Attila the Scourge of God, Robert the Devil, Emperor Frederic II the Antichrist, Pagans, Jews, Saracens, heretics, witches and gypsies, to name only the most prominent ones. The last six groups were occasionally treated as minor scapegoats. However, they never became the scapegoat who would serve to provide the solution of a major crisis. The chief reason for the absence of scapegoating on a large scale must be sought in the ability of the Church to maintain the emotional equilibrium of the Christian masses by keeping alive the hope in the Christian solution of all difficulties; also in the capability of the Church of establishing a system of symbols of evil which would absorb, transform and secure harmless outlets for the negative emotional attitudes of the Christians.

The 13th century brought about a decisive change in the religious atmosphere and in the emotional climate of the West. The Church was no longer able to prevent an explosive accumulation of restlessness, frustrations, anxieties and hostilities among the majority of its membership. It was no longer capable of bridging the widening chasm between the grandiose dream of the Second Coming of Christ and the disappointing reality symbolized by the progressive corruption of the Church and the rapid deterioration of social conditions. The initial result of this alarming situation was a tremendous expansion of the religious symbols of evil, both in scope and in number. Gone was the earlier optimistic conviction that Christ had vanquished Satan forever. Instead, a pessimistic belief gained ground according to which Satan not only remained powerful but strove successfully to enlarge his realm. Simultaneously, he allegedly increased the number of his helpers, his human tools, and also his own capability of metamorphosis and disguise. He could supposedly appear in the shape of almost any animal or human being.

The demonization of the religious sphere was accompanied by a parallel demonization of nature. For our forefathers, who lived during the waning Middle Ages, nature became haunted as never before by a host of malevolent and devilish beings, such as mountain giants, water sprites, wild men and women, fiery men, elves and gnomes, werewolves, vampires, ghosts, dragons, basilisks, will-of-the-wisps, *et cetera*. In spite of this multiplication of the externalizations of evil in religion and nature, they proved ineffective to assimilate, transsubstantiate and provide vent for the pent-up negative attitudes of the Christian masses. Collective fears, hatreds and frustrations began to inundate society and embody themselves in the social realm. The demonization of society found at first its expression in the belief that the Devil was able to arrogate such a monstrous strength only because he availed himself of a steadily increasing host of human tools. In conspiracy with various evil individuals and groups who were considered his children, disciples, warriors and allies, the Devil allegedly dared to attempt the overthrow of the existing order both spiritual and secular.

At this juncture the Church recognized the necessity of the masses to discharge their suppressed negative emotions through aggressive action which would alleviate the growing tension. The main Christian symbol of evil, the Devil, was ill-suited for other than purely symbolic scapegoating. Although he was credited with the capability of assuming almost any human form, he remained basically a being from another world subject only to indirect treatment with the aid of magic. Thus, it became imperative for the Church to identify heretics as the scapegoat for the prevalent crisis. The turning point in the persecution of heretics was the year 1232 when Pope Gregory IX entrusted the inquisitio hereticae pravitatis to the Dominicans. The result was the development of the rich folklore of defamation around heretics, the crusades and the heresy-trials.

However, by the 15th century it became evident that the suppression of heretics did not solve the problem.¹⁷ On the contrary, religious and social conditions continued to deteriorate until the decay culminated in the great schism of the Reformation and the holocaust of the Thirty-Years-War. The demonization of religion, nature and society was completed through the witchcraft delusion.¹⁸ In order to maintain its control the Church resorted to the same device as in the case of heresy-mania. The identification of the witch as the scapegoat for the current emergency was proclaimed by nobody less than the Head of the Catholic Church, Pope Innocent VIII in his bull Summis desiderantes (1484). The concept of witchcraft and the techniques of witch-hunting received their final rationalization and codification in the ill-famed Malleus maleficarum (1487)¹⁹ from the pens of two Dominican inquisitors. The Malleus became the canon of witchcraft, the handbook for witch-trials and the prototype of the ensuing flood of witch-literature which for over two centuries was engaged in expanding the folklore of fear and hatred around witches. The magnitude of the crisis is reflected in the universality, intensity and duration of the witchcraft delusion. Like a mental epidemic it swept most of Christian Europe and spread to the New World. It affected Catholics and Protestants alike, engulfed all classes, all ages and both sexes. It is characteristic of the close relationship between the intensity of the religious and social crisis and that of the witch-craze that the latter reached its climax in the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, which was the battleground both of the Reformation and of the Thirty-Years-War. The witchcraft delusion subsided slowly, after 300 years, in the 18th century when the Age of Enlightenment and Rationalism reestablished the balance between reason and emotions among the leading classes of Western Europe.

17. The best studies of the folklore around heretics and witches still remain Wilhelm G. Söldan and Heinrich Hepp, Geschichte der Hexenprozesse, Rev. ed. (Luebeck, Leipzig, 1938) and J. Hansen, Zauberwahn, Inquisition und Hexenprozess im Mittelalter und die Entstehung der grossen Hexenfolgung (Stuttgart, 1880); cf. also Henry C. Lea, Materials towards a History of Witchcraft (Philadelphia, 1939).

18. One of the best accounts of the magnitude and depth of this crisis is Will-Erich Feukert, Die Grosse Wende. Das apokalyptische Saeculum und Luther (Hamburg, 1948).

19. J. Sprenger and H. Kramer, Malleus Maleficarum, Translated with the Introduction, Bibliography and Notes by Rev. Montague Summers (Bungay, 1928).

This more rational attitude, which was to a great extent the reflection of increasing stability in the social sphere, was interrupted by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars on the continent of Europe. These upheavals precipitated a new mass relapse into the mythopoeic mode of thought on the part of the champions of the ancien regime and the adversaries of the New Order. These refused to believe that it was the new social forces and the revolutionary bourgeoisie which brought about the revolution but searched for the "real criminals" behind the stage of history. The opponents of the New Order reached the conclusion that the leading revolutionaries were mere puppets of their anonymous masters, the Freemasons, from whom they took orders. That the Freemason became the new scapegoat is not surprising if we take into consideration the abundant anti-Masonic folklore of a religious nature which was cultivated both by the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Europe and also the great predilection of the 18th century popular mind for the romanticized activities of the then numerous secret societies. This trend is well reflected in the popular literature which abounded in sensational "revelations" and "confessions" exposing the anti-religious and political machinations of ex-members of secret societies. Freemasons not only constituted the scapegoat for the evils of the French Revolution but continued to function as religious and political scapegoats of diverse conservative, reactionary, royalist, clerical, and anti-democratic factions both in Europe and in America. The employment of the Freemason as a scapegoat was revived in our own times in Fascist and Communist countries where the Masons became identified with the arch-scapegoat of the movements which were, in this case, respectively the Jew and the Capitalist.²⁰

The 19th century was devoid of any large scale scapegoating. The reasons for this are undoubtedly the preoccupation of the masses with scientific advances and explorations, technological inventions and industrialization, commercial and colonial expansion, social reforms and political emancipation, all of which were achieved under the aegis of reason and averted a dangerous accumulation of collective frustrations. Nevertheless, deep underground there rumbled various anti-Semitic, anti-Masonic, anti-Catholic, anti-Jesuit,²¹ nationalistic and racial rumors, legends and myths of religious and political origin. They steadily gathered strength although they emerged only sporadically into the limelight of history, as in the instance of the Dreyfuss trial or the Taxil swindle.²²

20. An example of Nazi codification and "scientific" verification of the anti-Masonic folklore is Friedrich Hasselbacher, Entlarvte Freimaurerei (Berlin, 1936-39).

21. An example of anti-Jesuit and anti-Catholic folklore, as the Nazis used it, is Erich and Mathilde von Ludendorff, Das Geheimnis der Jesuitenmacht und ihr Ende (Munich, 1935).

22. In 1893 Leo Taxil published his Le Diable Aux XIX Siecle which contained sensational "revelations" of the connections between Freemasonry and Satanism. In the ensuing controversy which spread from France to Germany and other European countries the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church accepted these revelations at their face values and suffered a great loss of prestige when these were proved to be clever inventions. For the arguments and literature see Der Grosse Brockhaus, 15th ed. (Leipzig, 1934) XVIII, pp 505 f.

The beginning of the First World War ushered in one of the most acute and prolonged crises in the history of Western civilization. The aftermath was the wholesale regression into mythopoeic thinking in Russia, Italy, Germany and, more recently, in China. The mythopoeic behaviour in the social realm has reached such a scope and intensity that it has embodied itself in the political mythologies or pseudo-religions, as they can be termed, of Communism, Nazism and Fascism. These represent not only the objectification but the intellectual rationalization and systematization of collective political, economic and social fears and hatreds in which the solution by scapegoat is the main pillar of the monstrous structure. These social pseudo-religions have dragged into the vortex of mythopoeic frenzy education and most of the sciences and arts, as was the case during the witchcraft delusion. They have taken advantage of a special propaganda machinery, the press and radio, and at times have been able to achieve what may be termed social mass hypnosis.

Thus, we can conclude that the scapegoat offers a provisional solution of the crisis which is of a mythical and stereotyped character. Once the scapegoat is identified it is possible to predict with a fair degree of accuracy the course of events, particularly the brand of the folklore which will be spun around the scapegoat. This folklore contains motifs and patterns of defamation which have been universal and constant throughout the ages. This is due to the extremely conservative nature of mythopoeic behaviour which is governed by instincts and emotions. These, by their very character, are deeply rooted in the past experiences. A mind dominated by instincts and emotions steadily seeks to reproduce and restore past states, attempts incessantly to transpose familiar situations and the behaviour of the past into the present in the firm conviction that analogical situations can be resolved by analogical solutions. Thus, the mythopoeic mentality employs history as a vast storehouse of images, ideas, symbols and problems which reoccur and are applicable to the present. And vice versa the present, according to the same law of analogy, can cast new light on many phenomena of the past which until now have remained unnoticed, veiled or unsolved. Consequently, the scapegoat is Janus-like, while it promises to bring relief in the future, it is essentially oriented toward the past. The solution by scapegoat illuminates the problem in a new manner, purifies the oppressive emotional atmosphere and liberates the mind from emotional pressures but does not remove any actual causes of the crisis. However, it permits the individual, who cannot remove his fears and hatreds on an individual level because he would come in severe conflict with the laws, mores and traditions of his community, to project these sentiments on a general plane and to symbolize them. In such a manner the individual is able to act, attack, violate the economic, religious, moral and social taboos with the sanction of the group and to obtain relief from responsibility and from the qualms of his conscience. Moreover, only too frequently have the religious and political magicians recognized the dynamic power of fear and hatred, gauged correctly the potentialities for power of pent-up collective emotions and employed them for their own purposes. They have been able to transform the accumulated negative sentiments of the masses into a social force of an elemental destructive power and to use it temporarily for the unification and consolidation of the disintegrating society. Therefore, since time immemorial, the scapegoat has been employed as a religious or political weapon for attaining or preserving social control.

CURRENT JAZZ LINGO

By

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"Oh, that's the new small talk."

G. B. Shaw, Pygmalion, Act II

A teacher was giving her class an example of ancient language. "Now, Gene," she said to a pupil, "give an example of a modern-day sentence which conveys the meaning, 'Thou art good.'" The pupil paused for a few moments of meditation, and then his face lighted up with sudden understanding as he said: "I dig you, cat, and you're real crazy!"¹ Though his teacher (and parents) may have been confounded with this unfamiliar terminology, his "peer group" knew exactly what he meant. He merely translated the sentence into a current vernacular, the latest slang terms.

This new idiom of the younger generation (addicts of Be-Bop, swing, "rock 'n roll," and progressive jazz) stems from the slang of jazz musicians and, especially, their devoted followers. Formerly U. S. colloquialisms evolved slowly, but that seems no longer true today; as early American jazz has changed, so has jazz lingo. Swing and New Orleans-type jazz has been replaced in popularity by progressive jazz and "rhythm and blues" music, and the lingo of the jazz followers has changed accordingly. A term of high approbation in the swing era was "out of this world," in the bop era it was "gone" and today it is "the greatest," "the most," or "the end." In the same fashion, a daring performance was "hot," then "cool," and now is "far out." Some jazz musicians report that jazz lingo becomes obsolescent almost as soon as it reaches the public ear. Terms currently used by jazz addicts include the following:

Nouns

Ball - a good time; having a ball--enjoying oneself

Cat - jazz musician, hence, a good fellow (one of the oldest terms)

Square - one who is not "hip," not in the know

Junior flip or young brood - a young cat

Pure box - a square square

Drag - an annoyance

1. Texas Outlook, April, 1955.

Nouns (continued)

Hipster - one who is hip
Pad - bed, any living place
Gas (or gasser) - something extremely good, funny, or out of the ordinary
Frame (or cake) - newer word for chick, a girl
Pipe - a trumpet
Box - a piano, or record player
Tubs (also skins) - drums
Ax - saxophone
Gig - one-night stand; also any job
Swing - antique kind of jazz
Combo - small instrumental group
Sides - records
Bread - money
Pound - five dollars
Long-green - over \$1,000
Jelly - a nickel
Double jelly - a dime
Ground pads (also stomps) - shoes
Cheaters - dark glasses
Threads (also vines or fronts) - suits
Short - a car

Verbs

Blow (also pick) - to play any instrument
Bug - bewilder or irritate
Cool - relax, e.g., "I cooled it at a table for a while."
Dig - understand or appreciate
Flip - to be excited
Goof - make a mistake
Put down - criticize or defame
Split (also fold) - depart
Swing - to achieve the buoyant beat that is the essence of jazz
Wig behind - to really go for something
Grease (also scoff) - to eat
Cut out - leave

Adjectives

Cool - conveys varying degrees of approval
Hip - in-the-know
Wasted - tired or beat up
Insane - very, very good

Adjectives (continued)

Nowhere - phony

On - addicted to a drug

Petrified (also stoned) - heavily stimulated

Hungout - interested

The most - shows highest degree of approval. Stronger than wild, frantic, real
gone

Interjections

Crazy! - Once a superlative, now means more often O.K., or goodbye, e.g.,

"Will I see you tomorrow." A. "Crazy."

Later - catchall word for "I'll be seeing you."

Like - filler word for pauses of uncertainty, e.g., "You wanna' hear some jazz, like?"

Idioms

"Wave the wig" - Comb your hair

"Grease the tubes" - To eat

"Is the scene clean?" - Are you working?

"What know?" - What's new?

"Man, I got eyes." - I understand, or I'm willing.

"Pay your dues" - Pay a bill

"Slide a side" - Dance (to a juke box)

"Split the scene" or "Cut out" - To leave

"Switch the rags" - Change clothes

"That was a jive tip" - Unreliable information

"What's happening, man?" - A common greeting

"Dig those cool sounds" - Notice the music, especially a good solo part

"Lay it on me" - Give it to me

The use of some of these words may best be appreciated by being seen in context. The following "jive" version of the classic tale of Little Red Riding Hood is one of several recorded by Jazzbo Collins.

Little Red Riding Hood

Once upon a time in the land of Oo-blah-dee there was a fine chick named Red Riding Hood. One day Red's mother said, "Honey, your Grandma is feeling the least, so I've fixed up a real wild basket of ribs and a bottle of juice, and I'd like you to fall by her joint and lay it on her."

"Crazy," said Red, and taking the basket she took off through the woods. She had gone but a short distance when the wolf appeared on the scene from behind the timber.

"Baby, " he said, "give me some skin. "

"Sorry, Daddy-O, " said Red, "some other time. Now I have to make it over to my Grandmother's place. "

"Mama, say no more. I'm hip. Dig you later. " So saying he made it over to grandma's posthaste, swallowed the old lady up, disguised himself in her night clothes, and stashed himself between the lily whites. Pretty soon Little Red Riding Hood knocked.

"Hit me again, " said the wolf. "Who goes? "

"It's me, Grams. " Mother heard you were sick and thought you might like to pick up on some ribs. "

"Wild, " said the wolf, "fall in. "

Red Riding Hood entered, cased the joint, and said, "Hey, what a crazy pad! "

"Sorry I didn't have time to straighten the joint up before you got here, " said the wolf. "What's in the basket? "

"Same old jazz, " said Red.

"Baby, " said wolf, "don't put it down. "

"I have to, " said Red, "it's getting heavy. "

"Okay, " said the wolf, "open the basket. I got eyes. "

"I'm hip, " said Red. "Grandma, what frantic eyes you have! "

"The better to dig you with. "

"And, Grandma, what a long nose you have! " said Red.

"Yea, " said the wolfe, "it's a gasser. "

"And, Grandma, " said Red, "your ears are the most, to say the least. "

"I know my ears aren't the greatest, " said the wolf. "Let's just say somebody goofed. "

"You know something, " said Red. "I don't want to sound square, but you don't look like my grandma at all; you look like some other cat. "

"Baby," said the wolf, "you're flippin'."

"No, man," said Red, "I just dug your nose again, and it's the most. I don't want to come right out and ask to see your card, but where's my grandma?"

"Your grandma is gone," said the wolf.

"You're right," said Red, "she is the swingiest, but where is she?"

"She cut out," said the wolf.

"Don't hand me that jazz," said Red. Whereupon the wolf leapt out of the bed and began chasing her around the room. Little did he know that wolf season had opened that day, that a passing hunter was hip, and he came on with an axe and dispatched the wolf forthwith.

"Dad," said Red gratefully, "your timing was like the end, you know." And so it was.²

Some of this slang is not new, but much of it is. To ascertain the source or origin of the words is not easy. H. Clay Tucker finds that "the language of jazz, like the music itself, began with the American Negro."³ Just as Progressive Jazz (like that of Dave Brubeck and the West Coast Movement) is based on the Be-Bop music of the '40's by Negroes like Dizzy Gillespie, Yardbird Parker and Thelonius Monk, the contemporary jazz idiom seems based on earlier Jazz lingo of Negro origin. The "Rhythm and Blues" fad that has swept the country has done much to popularize the new slang words, and no doubt many of the new terms stem from Negro musicians today. Certainly Negro "cats" are among the most prolific users of the terms. While the white bopsters were borrowing a manner of dress from the Negro (the roll collar and pegged pants originated in Harlem), it seems likely that they borrowed a manner of speech as well.

2. Copyright 1953 by Rosemeadow Publishing Corporation, New York, New York. Used here by permission of the copyright owner. Though the terms are humorously used in the story, sometimes with a deliberate pun on the old meaning of the term and the current jazz-lingo meaning (i. e., "put it down"), these same terms are used seriously by members of the Jazz Cult.

3. H. Clay Tucker, "The Language of Jazz," Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin, XX (December, 1954), p. 77.

Just how many of the words came to mean what they mean will probably never be known; the "cats" who use them neither know nor care. The questioner is often met with a dumb stare. Most reaction is comparable to that of a Texas farmer who identified a strange-looking crop for me as "Milo-maise." "How do you spell it?" I asked. "You don't spell it," he replied in disgust. "You just feed it to the hogs and cows." The "cats" care nothing at all about the origin of the terms of their new vocabularies; they just use them.

Some words encourage one to guess their origin. For example, "bread" for money is a logical follow up of "dough," an old slang expression. "Long green" is similarly a follow up of older "green backs." "Pound" for \$5.00 may be due to the influence of service time spent in England. "Cheaters," for dark glasses, has a reasonable explanation; they are usually worn by a "cat" who is "on" some narcotic and the effect on his eyes would be noticeable if the "cheaters" were not worn. The verb to goof (to do something stupid) obviously stems from goof balls, since one might do anything under their influence.

A large number of the words apply to the musician's profession and tools (pipe, box, gig, combo, ax, etc.) and probably accidentally sprang up among the musicians themselves. Terms applied to Marijuana and other narcotics (tea, pod, pot, sweet grass, Mary Jane, Straight H) were doubtlessly picked up from underworld contacts, since some famous musicians have been notorious for their use of drugs. A recent "Glossary of Drug User's Slang" lists several terms that appear in jazz lingo, sometime with slight modification in meaning, such as: Bennies (Benzedrine tablets), Goof Balls (barbituates), Fix (an injection of narcotics), High (under the effect of narcotics), pad (drug user's home, residence), Pad joint (a "dope dive"), etc.⁴

Many of the other terms may have resulted from the musicians' association with criminal elements. Sometimes the same language is used on the band stand and in the prison. The "square" to the bopster is the same as the "square john" to the convict. They both ride in "shorts," eat "scoff," dress in "a sharp set of threads," consort only with "hipsters" or "heads" in their search for "kicks," fortified against the world of reality with "lush" or "pot" with their "chicks" at their side.⁵

Several of the terms seem to be a shortened or elliptical form of an ordinary term. For example, "What's he on?" means "What drug is he high on?" "Later" often means "I'll see you later" or "Goodbye, until later." Similarly, one plays some "sides" instead of "both sides of some records," and "the flip side" can be said much easier than "the other side." A "one-nighter" is as clear as, and shorter than "a one-night stand."

4. Paul B. Weston, Narcotics, U.S.A. New York: Greenberg, 1952.

5. Paul Warren, "Jazz and Crime," Chicago, I (December, 1954), 30.

Another shortcut makes an adjective substitute for an understood noun, which I have placed in parentheses in the following examples. "Let's take five (minutes)." "Man, I could sleep for the next forty-eight (hours)." He "stashed himself between the lily whites (sheets)." In the same manner, "the most" can mean the most delicious, the most brilliant, or the most beautiful, but the hearer is left to supply the final adjective.

It is tempting to conjecture even more. Paul Warren⁶ believes that the origination and use of such phrases as "out of this world," "the end," "crazy," "frantic," and "kill me, man" would prove of significance to a psychiatrist. A psychiatrist might also explain the prevalence of over-used nicknames such as Man, Dad, Paddy-O, Stud, Rock, and Prince, which hipsters unfailingly call each other, with Man and Stud being the most prevalent. Perhaps the elaborate, lacquered, duck-tail haircuts, the roll collars and pleated trousers in pink and lavender and the decadent, feline grace of the bop dances subconsciously makes the hip kids reaffirm their masculinity through words.

These new terms are no longer restricted altogether to the use of Jazz addicts. It is easy to see that some of the new expressions are creeping into everyday use. Marlon Brando remarked to Look Magazine's Helen Itria: "It's been a drag. I'm gassed." Lionel Hampton wrote in the Pittsburgh Courier: "Man, we really jammed. He really broke us up... We turned out thirty sides..." Dick Haymes, explaining to the press why Rita left, reportedly said, "I flip and make noise but I don't mean it." Tonny Zoppi, columnist for the Dallas Morning News, told his readers: "If you dig the piano, The Chalet is a must stop." Dorothy Kilgallen, syndicated columnist, reported: "Observers on the Benny Goodman set at U-I were gassed..." The Rev. George P. Crist, Jr., writing a letter to Time, admitted "That I have often misfired and goofed there is not the slightest doubt..."

Some modern novels dealing with adolescents and juvenile delinquents use the idiom throughout. The widely read Blackboard Jungle by Evan Hunter (New York: Pocket Books, Inc., 1955) is filled with expressions such as "You ever flop into some cat's pad, West?" "Are you hip or from nowhere?" "He beats a wild skin." "Boy, what a ball! Man, it gassed us, the happiest time, the most." In Hal Ellson's Rock (New York: Ballantine Books, 1955), such expressions are even more plentiful: "I hear Gimpy say 'Cool it, man'... One stud belts me from one side... 'You're bugging the wrong girl,' Gimpy tells me... We flip another disc, and then drift." Max Schulman's The Tender Trap, which played on Broadway in 1954, had a character named Sol whose conversation ran like this: "Maw, you gotta be crazy to let that chick go home, and I don't mean crazy like cool... She is the most. This is a real gone doll. How'd she ever get on that Beethoven kick?" Tennessee Williams in Camino Real has Kilroy say, "God bless all cats in the plaza without pads tonight."

6. Warren, op. cit., p. 30.

To one unaware of the new jazz lingo, these expressions in current literature would be puzzling and nonsensical. The problem they create in communication dramatized by a cartoonist for Campus Humor U.S. A., who pictures the consternation on the face of a middle-aged man when a "hip" young salesman attempts to sell him a suit, using this current vernacular:

Feature this, Dad. Eyeball this cool front. Pick up on how it hangs throughout. Catch this crazy drape. You'll dig the peg around the ankle the smoothest. This rag completely comes on being only the most frantic goddies those cats in Garment City can put out. The color, look Pops, bluer than Diz on five parts of "Just You, Just Me." The tariff is so easy. You cross my palm with 38 skins and 95 pennies. Clue all your cohorts how hip you are--they'll flip.

Obviously, the new slang words must be taken into consideration today. As a matter of fact, who knows how many of these words may end up as genuine members of the English language? Even today jazz lingo should not be ignored in a discussion of levels of usage (standard, colloquial, illiterate, etc.). The "new small talk" includes many current words which are picturesque and vigorous ("definitely cool"). Even "faculty cats" shouldn't be "bugged" by their use in informal writing and speaking; many of these expressions have the pungent quality found in good literature and the metaphorical appeal of poetry. The danger in slang is that, when old, it is trite and tasteless ("definitely square") and may mask an inadequate vocabulary. But today one who described everything as "swell" or "lousy" would be as frowned upon by hip kids as by English purists. Any stud or frame who so goofed would see all the hipsters cut out, yelling "Man, you are the least. Let's flee these evil words." Thus a good service is done in "putting down" hackneyed phrases and cliches. One might even conclude with Clara in Shaw's Pygmalion: "I find the new small talk delightful...and it's so quaint, and gives such a smart emphasis to things that are not in themselves very witty."

ANNOUNCEMENT REGARDING BULLETIN REISSUES

Following instructions of the Society at its annual meeting, November, 1955, the T. F. S. Secretary has canvassed library subscribers to the Bulletin to find out which issues they need to fill out their files. On the basis of this information, plans are now being made to reissue Volumes I, II, and IV. If any individual members of the Society wish copies of these volumes, they should place their order with the Secretary immediately. The volumes will be sold for \$2.00 each.

At present, the plan is to mimeograph the text on both sides of the sheet, even when the original left one side blank. Pagination, however, will correspond exactly with that of the original. If any members have objections to this procedure they should lodge them at once with the Secretary, William J. Griffin, Box 471, George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville 5, Tennessee.

EVENTS AND COMMENTS

"FOLKLORE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS" is the title of an article by our President, Mr. E. G. Rogers, published in the December, 1955, issue of the Tennessee Teacher. Correspondence received by the Secretary of the T. F. S. as a result of the article is testimony to its effectiveness.

TWO MEMBERS OF THE T. F. S. were represented in the June, 1955, issue of the Southern Folklore Quarterly: Kelsie Harder, who reported on "Rhyming Names in Tennessee," and James H. Penrod, who analyzed "Folk Motifs in Old Southwestern Humor." Professor Penrod also has an article, "Women in Old Southwestern Yarns," in the Kentucky Folklore Record for October-December, 1955, and one on "The Folk Hero as Prankster in the Old Southwestern Yarns" in the Kentucky Folklore Record for January-March, 1956.

"THE YALLER FLOWER OF THE FOREST," an expression that frequently occurs in the hyperbolic boasts in humorous sketches of the Old Southwest, puzzles Professor Edd Parks (University of Georgia). He would like to set his mind at rest on the subject of its origin and reference. He suggests the possibility that it referred to the tiger lily, that spectacular blossom sometimes found in the woods, or to a flower of the fly-catcher type whose inexorable cruelty may have suggested the metaphor. His wife, observing that in the tracing of origins in folklore studies anything is possible, wishes to link the "yaller flower" with the ubiquitous golden bough.

Can there be a connection with the mere idea of wildness--that which flourishes in uncultivated nature? Note the well known song:

I'm a little prairie flower
Growing wilder every hour.
Nobody'd better pick on me;
I'm as wild as wild can be.

Any comments from readers will be welcome.

A BELATED NOTICE OF A BELATED ISSUE of West Virginia Folklore (Spring, 1955) deserves attention. The issue reports legends and tales originating in Europe that are still retold in West Virginia.

A COMMUNICATION RECEIVED BY THE EDITOR OF THE BULLETIN ON DECEMBER 17, 1955, reads as follows:

I must confess myself puzzled by Harold R. W. Benjamin's article, "Tests of Folkloricity Applied to Soldier Songs" (TFSS, XXI, 99 ff.). Is Mr. Benjamin seeking to discredit the accepted authorship of "Good Old Rebel"? Or is his article the epitome of tragedy: a theory done to death by a fact?

Mr. Benjamin's definition, "A folk song is one made up by the folks who sing it," is not only "rough," but a bit confusing at the outset. Soon, however, Mr. Benjamin clearly indicates that "made up" refers not to a process of adaptation, but to the initial act of composition. As I understand him, then, he recognizes as folksongs only those which can be demonstrated to have been originally composed by their singers. And, according to his "tests of folkloricity," folksongs must lack "internal consistency, coherence, plot, and the like," and must deal with folk activities and be in the "plain and rough" language of the "folks." If this be his thesis, he is welcome to it. He may have "The Old Chisholm Trail," which will pass his tests; I would like to keep "Lord Randall," which will ~~flunk~~ out.

Nevertheless, I shall have to question Mr. Benjamin's concluding illustration, "The Good Old Rebel." I shall agree that it was composed about 1866 in the Western Confederacy. But I cannot agree that "no officers took part in making this song." I remain convinced that the song was written by Major Innes Randolph who served on the staff of J. E. B. Stuart. (See The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina, III, p. 464 and references therein.) Major Randolph may have based his poem on folk-made pieces similar to "An Old Unreconstructed" (and which may be too coherent to pass Mr. Benjamin's tests); or the latter piece may be an offshoot of Randolph's poem. All the oral versions of Randolph's poem seem derived from it.

Mr. Benjamin's article illustrates the dangers of internal evidence and restrictive definitions. Uncomfortable facts keep turning up. The folk keep singing what we say they shouldn't. I suspect that we had best cling to our "rough definition": A folksong is one sung by the folks. And perhaps I should add that the "folks" are not only the enlisted men, the peasants, the proletariat. They may be the officers. They may be the respectable. They may even be you and me.

D. K. Wilgus
Western Kentucky State College

IN COMMENT ON PROFESSOR WILGUS' LETTER, PROFESSOR
BENJAMIN WRITES:

I have seen printed versions of "The Good Old Rebel" in only two places: in John Lomax's Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads (New York: Macmillan, 1919), pp. 94-95, and in Edward A. Dolph's Sound Off (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1929, 1942), pp. 361-363. Lomax lists the song without comment on authorship. Dolph states only, "This bit of defiance was first sung by Harry Allen of the Washington Light Artillery, of New Orleans."

I suspect that the song was worked out by a number of folks, although it is entirely possible that the Randolph of Wilgus or the Allen of Dolph may have had the main share of authorship.

TWO FURTHER NUMBERS OF North Carolina Folklore (Volume III, 1 and 2) have been issued recently. They continue in the excellent way marked out by earlier numbers. They contain so much of interest that their contents cannot be briefly summarized. Special attention, however, may be called to the following articles in the July, 1955, issue: "A Garland of Ballads from Caldwell County," by John E. Keller; and "Mottoes and Slogans of the Curio Shop and Business Establishment," by Jacqueline Williams. In the December, 1955, issue Tennessee readers may be particularly interested in "A Sampling of Folklore from Rutherford County," by John Walker because it parallels reports that have been made in the T. F. S. Bulletin.

FROM BOGATA, COLOMBIA, the Editor of the Bulletin has received a copy of a thesis entitled Los Ansermas which was submitted by Ines Lucia Abad Salazar to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Pontificia Universidad Cat6lica Javeriana. This study of one of the aboriginal cultures of Colombia is careful and fairly thorough. It is no doubt representative of the kind of anthropological and ethnological investigation that is more frequent in the southern hemisphere than we are aware of.

FOLKLORE AMERICANO, November, 1955, discusses "Some Aspects of Popular Medicine in a Mestiza Village of Colombia" and "Traditional Children's Games in Peru," as well as a number of other matters of less general interest, such as the use of folklore in the schools of Peru and of Spain.

THE DECEMBER, 1955, issue of Folklore Americas consists of "Advice for Those Who Folkloric Songs," by Sam Eskin. Mr. Eskin, of Woodstock, New York, is an expert whose "tips" should be sought after.

Patrick Galvin, Irish Songs of Resistance. New York (509 Fifth Avenue): The Folklore Press, 1956. 102 pp. \$1.50 (paper), \$2.50 (cloth).

Since "the history of Ireland is almost wholly that of eight centuries of resistance to English colonization" and the Irish heroes are those who most fiercely resisted the domination of England, it is inevitable that Irish folk ballads should glorify those heroes and lament the tragedies of the long struggle for freedom. It is the thesis of this book (and the title of its main section) that "history and song are one." The author's concise and informative history of Ireland is accompanied by the songs inspired by its momentous events.

The text of the song of King Brian's address to his soldiers before the Battle of Clontarf in 1014 is the first quoted; it is followed by the victorious war cry "O'Donnell

Aboo" which anticipated the defeat of the English under the Earl of Essex. The greatest number of "resistance" songs, however, began to flood the country in the 1840's after they were published in The Nation, the newspaper that reflected the surge of nationalistic feeling. Besides about 50 songs for which the music is given, there are in this volume a good many ballad texts without music. In a supplement, the author gives the music and lyrics for a group of typically patriotic songs. (The ballads of Tom Moore are omitted because Moore is regarded as a "drawing-room" singer, more English than Irish.)

This book should be valuable to anyone interested in Irish folk-music per se, and particularly so to those interested in the interrelationship of history and folk music. The Folklore Press is to be congratulated on its first publication, and on its intention to publish a reprinting of the Child ballad volumes to be followed by its release of a Child ballad record set.

--Elizabeth Kilpatrick
Harpeth Hall School, Nashville

THE FOLLOWING RECORDINGS in the Riverside Folklore Series (released by Bill Graver Productions, 418 West 49th St., New York 19, N. Y.) will be reviewed in the June Bulletin:

Songs of an Irish Tinker Lady, sung by Margaret Barry, RLP 12-602
Merry Ditties, sung by Milt Okun, RLP 12-603
Irish Drinking Songs, sung by Patrick Galvin, RLP 12-604
Australian Bush Songs, sung by A. L. Lloyd, RLP 12 606

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